

# Explorations of Historicization and Oral Traditions:

A Translation of the *Dalikal Nao Magru*

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*Despite their small population there has been a recent trend of academic interest in the Islamic influenced Awal minority of Vietnam. The Awal are commonly seen as being part of a symbiotic religious system that is dependent on both Awal and Brahmanist influenced Ahier elements. From the perspective of anthropologists of religion, the Awal community has received recent interest in the discussions of the nuances between 'syncretic' and 'polythetic' religious practices. Although these discussions have consistently referenced the importance of Cham manuscripts, studies rarely to introduce new source material along with a detailed review of the historical context for the manuscripts production. With this circumstance in mind this article introduces a historical contextualization, translation and analysis of the Cham manuscript: Dalakal Nao Mâgru. Through this study of the manuscript Dalakal Nao Mâgru this article argues the examination of a single manuscript can bring new angles to light.<sup>1</sup>*

## Introduction

The Cham manuscript Dalikal Nao Magru is an example of localized, Islamic-influenced literature and is a popular story amongst the Cham minority of Vietnam. Today the Austronesian Cham population totals nearly 167,000 individuals mostly in the provinces of Ninh Thuan, Binh Thuan, Tay Ninh, An Giang and in the urban area of Ho Chi Minh City. In Vietnam, the Cham are largely divided into one of four religions: Ahier (Brahmanist influenced), Awal (Islamic influenced), Cham Islam (Shafi'i Sunni Muslims) and Cham Jat ('pure' ancestral worship).<sup>2</sup> Regardless, Cham cultural philosophy has been praised by members of the Cham community and outsiders alike for its concept of the eternal dualistic relationship between the Awal and the Ahier expressed through the symbol of the homkar. The homkar is not totally unique to the Cham culture, having been derived from the Hindu om symbol. Furthermore, localized forms of the homkar can be found in many other locations throughout Southeast Asia, in particular in the Hindu enclaves on the islands of Bali and Borneo. However, what is unique about the Cham philosophy of Awal and Ahier is that the relationship between Islamic influenced elements of culture and Hindu influenced elements of culture are gendered

(female first; male second) and applied to all aspects of understanding life. Hence, the philosophy of Awal and Ahier can be applied to all societies as well, not simply Cham society. Regardless, it has generally been agreed upon by scholars researching the Cham that Cham manuscripts are to be studied in order to further elicit deeper understandings of Cham culture and history. With this in mind, research on Cham manuscripts has reached a new peak recently through partnerships with the Ecole Francaise D'extreme Orient (EFEO) in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia and various Malaysian state-scholarly initiatives.<sup>3</sup>

An important historical detail when researching the Cham population is that the contemporary Cham Indic-influenced script, Akhar Thrah, seems to have origins in the seventeenth century. It is possible that the oldest sample of Akhar Thrah can be found on the door jam of the Po Rome tower in Palei Thuen (Hau Sanh, Ninh Thuan province).<sup>4</sup> However, the script originated at a time during which there were no clear boundaries between 'Southeast Asian polities' as we have between Southeast Asian states today – but rather individual power centers were nebulous mandala interlocked with each other.<sup>5</sup> Hence the Gulf of Thailand that now separates Malaysia, Vietnam and Cambodia was, during a

critical turning point in Cham cultural history: a connecting force. The Gulf brought the Cham and the Malay populations together into a single cultural zone that was strongly influenced by Islam. As a direct result some of the oldest forms of Cham literature are known as Akayet. Like the Malay Hikayat, the Cham word akayet comes from the Arabic word Hikayat meaning 'story.' Additionally, while the akayet in the Malay world proliferated through the parallel genres of the Sejarah histories, sisilah lineages and syair poetry written in classical Jawi – in the Cham world, the Indic influenced script of Akhar Thrah became the means to record the akayet as well as ariya poetry, damnuy hymns and dalikal short stories.<sup>6</sup>

The contemporary project of researching Cham history and literature began to progress greatly both in light of and in spite of the political climate of Southeast Asia in the 1960s and the 1970s, particularly through the works of the French scholar Father Gerard Moussay, who partnered with local Cham scholars in Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan province. Father Moussay's projects were supported through the Center for Cham Culture (CCC) in Phan Rang, Ninh Thuan and a partnership with PB LaFont, then director at the EFEO. By the 1990s and 2000s this fruitful collaboration became the Cham literature project of the National Museum of Malaysia at Kuala Lumpur and the EFEO-Kuala Lumpur (KL). EFEO-KL research has suggested that two of the earliest Cham literatures to be recorded were the Akayet Inra Putra and the Akayet Dewa Mano – which appeared in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Undoubtedly the Ramayana and Mahabharata epochs influenced these texts – although the Cham also have their own Ramayana in the form of the five-page prose narrative: Akayet Pram Dit Pram Lak.<sup>7</sup> Meanwhile, Akayet Dewa Mano is also likely a localized version of the Laws of Manu – the Manusmriti or the Manarva Dharmasastra, despite the assertion by many scholars that this is a Ramayana/Mahabharata text.<sup>8</sup> Despite overt Indic influences, it appears that the explosion of Cham literary genres and the recording of classical and classic Cham literature from the early modern to the modern period would still be strongly influenced by Islamic tradition. Hence, in the manuscripts of Akayet Um Marup (dated to the sixteenth to seventeenth century) and the Nai Mai Mang Makah manuscript (dated to the eighteenth century – also

known as Ariya Bini-Cam) Islamic tropes are more present.

Although turn of the century manuscripts certainly existed, the first collection of the Akayet Um Marup manuscript may have been by Paul Mus in the early 1930s (CAM 156). At least one version of this manuscript was copied by the Cham scholar Bô Thuận and presented to Paul Mus in November 1932 (CAM 152). The work of Bô Thuận was likely quite important to his son: Bô Xuân Hồ, who worked with the Cham Cultural Center's (CCC) project from 1968 to 1975. Two versions of Akayet Um Marup were preserved by this project: CAM Microfilm 16 and CAM Microfilm 20, which was copied by Bô Xuân Hồ (C: Mbok Swa Hok) for the CCC's project in 1974. CAM Microfilm 20 includes a genealogy of Cham princes (pp. 1-5) and Ariya [Akayet] Um Mârup: anâk patao rom mak nagar tho nhy ki [Akayet Um Mârup: the story of the Turkish prince] (pp. 6 – 33).<sup>9</sup> It was at this time that Akayet Um Marup began to appear to more international audiences through Gerard Moussay's 1975 dissertation, followed by a 1978 Vietnamese prose summary in *Truyện Chăm Cổ* before being reworked for a conference publication in 1991 and an EFEO publication in 2008.<sup>10</sup> Another version of this manuscript was studied by the Cham scholar Inrasara and then translated into both English and Russian.<sup>11</sup> However, the manuscript is critical to our understanding of Dalikal Nao Magru and therefore we summarize it here.

The Akayet Um Marup parallels the development of the Malay text, the *Sejarah Melayu* in that it begins with a conversion narrative. Although his father is not Muslim the princely hero, Um Marup, submits to Islam when the Prophet Mohammed appears to him in the form of the spirit of the earth called 'Po Nabi.' Po Nabi then meets with the four caliphs and Ali who appears in the form of the spirit of the sea 'Po Ali.' Po Ali assists Um Marup to the path of Allah called 'Po Awlah' in consultation with 'Po Debita.' Depending on the scholarly analysis, individuals have noted that Po Debita may have either derived from the Sanskrit term *devatas* or the Qu'ranic figure Debora. In this case, Debora seems to be a more convincing suggestion since all the other figures are Qu'ranic – although it is possible that in older versions of the text or in other contemporary variants there might be a more even split between Islamic and Indic figures. Other Islamic motifs in this manuscript include: the figures Umar, Abu Bakr, Uth-

man (Osman)/Sunnan and Ali; Al-janna paradise and a pond that may be seen as Al-Kawthar; the mention of haram impure practices; Yapak, which is taken to be a Cham word for the heavenly mountain; and an apparently localized Sunni version of the shahada profession of faith (Ar.: la 'ilaha illa i-lah Muhammadur rasulu i-lah).<sup>12</sup>

The assertion that this is a Sunni profession of faith is critical. It contrasts with the assertion that the Cham Awal were influenced by the Shi'a – as evidence through their elevation of the figure of Ali.<sup>13</sup> The end of the manuscript is also critical. While Cham culture is no doubt influenced by Islam, the manuscript suggests that militant devotion only leads to disaster. And so, it is with the above concepts in mind—the Ahier-Awal relationship, potential Shi'a and potential Sunni influence and a mind toward the value of maintaining peaceful relations—that we can now begin the reading of the manuscript Dalakal Nao Magru.

The Dalakal Magru manuscript was originally 123 lines and 13 pages (pp. 128-141) of an anonymous, undated manuscript from Gru Hajan's personal collection. While studying with Gru Hajan, a copy of the manuscript was presented to me by Dr. Mohammed Bin Abdul Effendy. The orthography of the manuscript suggests that it was mid- to late-twentieth century in origin. However, the story appears to be of older oral traditions, displaying Qu'ranic references mixed with Israelyat local Cham traditions, such as the appearance of Vietnamese figures. It is important to remember that the Awal community that kept this manuscript has been targeted by dakwah purification efforts off and on since the 1960s – particularly influenced by Cam Biruw ('new Cham' Shafi'i Sunni Muslims) from An Giang province. There seems to have been a brief reference to this manuscript in Inrasara's *Văn Học Chăm I* (1994) in Vietnamese, although it appears that no in depth analysis, nor translation has ever been offered. Hence a translation of the manuscript appears below, while typed Akhar Thrah text, Romanization and Vietnamese translation appear in the appendix.

[p. 128]: This is the Dalakal about the Akhar teacher who asked his student to offer up his wife to the teacher. There was once a ceremony in a Bani sang mângik where Po Ali created a danaok for the Imams. In the sang mângik there was a true Acar who studied da-a yang but remembered very little. If he read all of the Akhar he could not remember any of it. Therefore, the

Acar had very little security and everywhere that he went he always met with great burdens. So, the Acar was constantly frustrated with everyone. Even when his wife cooked for him, she was embarrassed. So, she spoke with her husband:

“You have been working as an Acar for almost twenty years now. The Kathin [errata.: Kadhar?] will not work for you. Also, when you study the Qu'ran to invite the spirit in to you, you do not keep up with the others! [p. 129] Even the new Po Acar's cannot help you! I am so embarrassed! Now stop fasting [in the sang mângik] and go study the true form of writing again! Why are you fasting with such false notions of security? I can't even cook rice for the community anymore because I am so embarrassed!”

The Acar responded: “OK. I will stop fasting. However, if I continue to study I will need to find a teacher to teach me.”

And his wife spoke again: “Why don't you go find a teacher then? Go! Find a teacher that is excellent so that you can study! Then you can complete your studies together.”

So, the husband left the sang mângik to return home. His wife listened and put rice at the bottom of his bag above three bunches of bananas. The Acar took to the road and was silent for half a day before he met a single other traveler. He asked: “Do you know if there is a teacher who can [p. 130] teach Akhar?”

The person answered: “You will go straight a little bit more and find a person who has just become a teacher of Akhar to teach the prayer ceremonies. That person is the hands and the feet of Po Nabi brought down by the direction of the house of Po Nabi.”

[Following these directions] the Acar continued straight on until he reached the house of Po Rasulak and Po Rasulak asked: “Why has this Acar arrived here?”

The Acar answered: “I have been working as an Acar for a long time already and as of now, when I look at the writing I cannot invite the spirit in and cannot remember it. The younger Acar's hold me in disdain and my wife is embarrassed. So, with bananas and rice in my bag I have come to find a good teacher in order to study the true forms of writing.”

The teacher [Po Rasulak/Po Nabi] asked: “If this student really wants to learn, what gifts have they

brought to the ceremony to begin the terms of study?" [p. 131]

To begin with the Acar took out the bunches of bananas for the teacher. The teacher looked at the student and said: "Bring the bananas back home to your wife. Then, bring me back your wife! Then I will teach you."

The Acar picked up the bunches of bananas and went home to report what had passed to his wife: "The teacher will not eat the bananas. However, if I bring you to him, he promises me that he will teach."

His wife did not speak a word against this idea as she assumed that the Acar had already agreed to dedicate her to the teacher. But, she did open his bag to find two bunches of bananas missing! The Acar responded, claiming that neither he nor the teacher had eaten the bananas.

"This again!" his wife exclaimed [doubting his honesty and recounting her embarrassment]. Nevertheless, the two finished conversing with each other and travelled to the Acar's house.

When the teacher called, the wife of the Acar asked: "Husband you want to learn [p. 132] Akhar from the teacher, have you accepted his request or not?"

The Acar thought honestly to himself: Why was it so [easy] for her to be able to agree with the request of the teacher? [Almost hearing his thoughts]

She then quickly spoke: "Please, teacher [Po Rasulak], open up your heart and teach my husband so that he can remember all of the prayers for inviting spirits in."

The master then thought about how he could agree to such conditions.

After speaking together; during that night Po Rasulak led the wife into his room, as the Acar slept outside. For three days and three nights they lived like this. But each night the teacher slept in a different bed. Just the same, he made the wife not sleep and emit cries [ap... rep] as if they were sleeping together in the same bed! For three days and three nights this continued. Yet, the teacher found that the wife truly loved her husband and the Acar also truly loved and trusted his wife as, even after hearing all this, he still trusted the teacher with all of his heart as well! So the teacher brought her back to her house and the Acar then returned [p. 133]. Po Rasulak then began to write in a halagar notebook and lit

up gahlau incense in order to invite the presence of Pa Samat Akhar, to breathe magic into the script. He then took to burning a candle and mixed the hot wax into a water glass and gave it to the Acar to drink. The teacher then went to get a spell to teach the reading of all of the prayer. Reading these words truly brightened the Acar's heart, as he could now read any character. If he wanted to learn a ritual, he could learn it! All of them! Po Rasulak thus finished teaching and the Acar then returned home to continue fasting.

[Afterward] the Acar arrived at the sang mągik and went in to sit at his place. He took part in the holy-water cleansing ritual with the rest of the Acar, Imam and Katip, just as before, but the Acar could not bear to take part [as he had before]! The Acar took the holy water before going to stand in the place of the Imam [p. 134] who was performing the ceremony. The Imam then took the water and went in to find the Acar who had taken his seat. Finding this, [the Imam] tried to chase the Acar away. But the Acar would not go. [The Imam] ordered the other Acar to drag him out of the sang mągik. But he still would not go. When the Imam and Katip spoke with Po Ali about this Acar, Po Ali pursued the Acar, but also could not remove him. Even though Po Ali kicked and slapped the Acar, he was still as a rock. Stubborn as a stone pillar. Po Ali was so upset that he took a piece of wood that was still on fire and struck the Acar. But still, he would not move.

Po Ali became so angry that he ordered the Acar to do all of the rituals for the Imams, as they were witting on the prayer mats when the Acar began to perform. Po Ali had ordered the Acar to perform all of the ceremonies, read all of the texts and read all of the prayers. However, [luckily] the teacher [Po Rasulak] had already taught him [these skills]. All of the texts were used to invite the spirit in and the Acar read with a phenomenal voice [p. 135]. Po Ali spoke 'so many' and the Acar read just that much. And so, Po Ali now felt shame in his own heart as in this sang mągik it was only the Acar alone who knew all of the prayers and the ceremonies. However, no one knew where the Acar learned how to read the prayers and the ceremonies like this and who had taught him, such that there was not even the slightest error in his reading.

Po Ali the [following the Acar's method] went out to find some way to continue to study and found only one person on his path to give directions to Kir Blah and the home of the teacher [Po Rasulak]. Po Ali went

straight to this place and straight on to the teacher's house. [However,] Po Rasulak was his father in law who had taught for the Acar. Po Ali then asked the father of his wife: "I am you son in law. Why hasn't my father in law taught me, but that stupid Acar!?! So, you do not consider me anything? Because you, Po Tama [Father in Law] have taught him, now, my sovereign, I have to come to study again [p. 136]. My sovereign, please teach me to read even better than him!"

[And so Po Rasulak responded]: "You must bring me your wife, then I will teach."

So Po Ali answered: "If you, my sovereign, my father in law, teach me, I still will never give my wife to you my sovereign"

[For Po Rasulak] these words were hard and strange to hear. One lives to teach their students, but had told their students to offer their wives to the teacher. So, Po Rasulak said again: "If you don't want to bring your wife to me, then fine! I won't teach anymore! Fine! I won't teach!"

Finding this Po Ali felt ashamed yet again. He did not return to the sang mągik [in that town] ever again. He [instead] went to the sang mągik in Mąkah, while Po Rasulak returned to heaven as he had already been transformed.

While Po Ali was on the road [travelling] he met a young Vietnamese woman [p. 137]. She was burdened by oil (petrol) that she carried. She stumbled, spilled the oil and began to cry. Po [Ali] asked the young woman [what she was doing] and she replied: "At my house there is one mother and one child. My mother is old already and so I go to sell oil to take care of my mother. Now the oil has spilled everywhere and so there is nothing left for me to sell for my mother. Po Ali! How can I get the oil back?"

Po [Ali] conjured the oil back from the ground to fill the jars of the young woman and she held them again. She then resealed the two receptacles, now, full as they were ever before. Po Ali then also spread some extra oil upon the belly of the young Vietnamese woman. The girl brought the jars home and then three months passed. She became pregnant and then gave birth to a boy. When the boy grew up he went to play with other peoples' children but argued with all of the other children that he played with. People scolded him saying: "This child does not have a father."

When Jabil [the child] [p. 138] found people scolding him like this, he returned home to ask his mother: "Where is my father, mother?"

His mother answered. But her response was difficult to hear. [At this time] Po Ali went to a village of Cham Akaphier [Ahier]. He went to this village to ask for drinking water. The house he arrived at had one girl who took a cask to draw drinking water for Po [Ali] to drink. When Po [Ali] finished drinking the water, he gave her a mąta ring. The water Po Ali drank remained in the cask [magically] and the girl also drank from it. Four months passed. The girl was pregnant and then she gave birth to a son. As the boy grew up, he went out to plant in the fields but argued with many people and so they scolded him: "You don't have a father!"

The son then returned home to ask his mother about his father and she answered him with words that were difficult to hear. He pleaded: "Mother, let me go find my father!"

So, he found his [p. 139] father in the sang mągik at Mąkah. The father received the son and the son then received the father as the son was taken to follow the Bani path. This Vietnamese boy then went to inquire and found a well of water that Po Ali had taken to use for rituals [in the sang mągik]. He went to the well to draw up some water and sealed it [in a cask] and then the people took this cask and brought it for Po Ali to open.

However, he could not open it because it was sealed so tightly. So they [the followers] continued to speak to Po Ali and he went, frustrated to where the young man was sitting, scolding him: "Why have you dared to seal my vessels?"

He spoke, while instantly hitting and kicking the young man. The young man was supporting both sides so that no one would lose. When [Po Ali] stopped, the young man asked: "Po, are you Po Ali? [p. 140]. In the past, you drew up oil from the ground in order to give a young Vietnamese woman oil again."

Po Ali answered: "Yes, how do you know this?"

The young man asked: "for what? [what is it to you?] If you really are the person who drew up [the oil] then I am truly your son, po."

Po Ali then questioned the young man and the young man revealed his entire story. The father and son hugged each other and went into the sang mągik. Po

Nabi [then] spoke with the young man: “Don’t the Vietnamese not follow the Bani path? Because they follow other paths?”

Upon hearing these words the young man felt ashamed, and suddenly left the sang m̃agik, causing confusion. Afterwards, Po Nabi then ordered two children of Po Ali, the two who followed Islam: “The person named Lii Than Lii will strike the young Vietnamese man.”

However, the young Vietnamese man was obviously talented and the two struggled inconclusively. Finally, the young Vietnamese man [p. 141] slashed Po Lii Than on one of his shoulders and brought part [of his body] to make anraong offerings and force the people [of that land] into custody. At midnight, the Cham children made a mantra spell to return the shoulder to Po Lii Than. They began to read the Phun Phua prayer and replace the shoulder on Po Lii Than’s body as before. When Po Nabi saw this, he called to the young man for his good behavior. Nabi named the young man Patao Nit Caleng Ka and so there was a new peace in the land. As Po Ali was discontent with the fact that Po Nabi had not required Patao Nit Caleng Ka to enter the path of Islam he disappeared without anyone knowing where he went.”

## Analysis

This sentence needs work. If scholars are to draw off of existing trends in the study of Malay literature for the study of Cham literature, then the analysis of Dalikal Nao Magru would assert that this is a local version of Israelyat literature – while attempting to draw out the Qur’anic elements of the manuscript in order to extrapolate ‘how Islam works in a local context.’ However, drawing off the context of Cham culture, it seems more important to ask: How do the Awal (female – Islamic) and the Ahier (male – Indic) elements of culture manifest themselves in this text? The direct mention of the Ahier community is completely absent. We have rather only the term akaphier, which is applied to a village where individuals may water. However, if we take the Ahier to be a symbolically male element of existence, then it is possible to see Ahier elements throughout the reading. The outside space, the space inside the mosque, and the actions of many of the characters are seen as being male – and hence,

symbolically Ahier. Nevertheless, the manuscript does have more overt Awal orientations.

Awal figures present in the Dalikal Nao Magru manuscript seem to reference all members of the Awal priest class: the Po Gru, Imam, Madhin, Katip and Acar. In Cham Awal society today, the Po Gru is the figure that directs the prayers in the Awal sang magik temple/mosque. In the Dalikal Nao Magru manuscript, the individual may be the figure Po Nabi (also referred as Po Rasulak). While in the Islamic world the combined notions of Nabi and Rasullah are generally used to refer to Mohammed, in both the Islamic in the Malay world a singular reference to Nabi may not be to Mohammed. Meanwhile, as evidenced by the reading of the manuscript Akayet Um Marup, the figure of Po Nabi is also ‘the spirit of the earth.’ Nevertheless, we do see that all of the Awal hierarchy is mentioned in the manuscript as studying Akhar or writing. It is important to note that traditionally the Cham Awal priesthood has been responsible for studying two forms of Akhar: 1) the Pallava-Grantha Indic influenced Akhar Thrah script that the Dalikal Nao Magru manuscript is written in and 2) the Al’ Arabi influenced Akhar Bani script that is used to write passages from the Qu’ran in local Cham pronunciation. Akhar Bani appears to have a variance of roughly 10% from standard Al’ Arabi, including the absence of certain characters.<sup>14</sup> Both scripts have been used for the versions of Kitap and Tapuk Cham Awal prayer books (called Do-a in the Malay world) that are kept in the private collections of the Awal priesthood for study at home (sang prasit), for recitation in kajang mobile temporary tents used for Cham-Awal ceremonies, and in the sang magik on Fridays and during the month of Ramadan.

The presence of the sang m̃agik in the manuscript is further evidence of Cham tradition. The word magik is derived from the Arabic word masjid, while sang<sup>15</sup> is the Cham word meaning house. Traditionally masjid in Southeast Asia were not permanent constructions. Wood masjid appeared throughout the Malay world and likely in Cham areas as well by the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, although records from late nineteenth-century Kampot in Cambodia suggest that even the Malay masjid were temporary. Meanwhile, by the nineteenth century in Vietnam, the Awal Ahier relationship had begun to incorporate elements of the Vietnamese concepts of âm dương – the Vietnamese version of Yin-Yang philosophy. Subsequently, the

sang mągik of the Cham living in Vietnam began to include the appearance of the âm dương symbol. Other important elements of an Awal sang magik are the minbar and the presence of badien candles (suggesting Islamic influence) while popularly many Cham refer to the sang mągik as a chùa (connoting Buddhist temple) rather than the official state term for mosques thánh đường (which is also a Hán Việt term for ‘church’).<sup>16</sup> It is possible that using the term sang magik in Cham while using the term chùa, meaning ‘temple’ in Vietnamese to simultaneously avoid debates about ‘proper mosque construction’ with Cham Muslim while promoting an understanding of Awal traditions to the larger Vietnamese community. Placing a careful balance between these relationships requires the knowledge of several languages – and hence this is a theme that we also find in the Dalakal Nao Magru manuscript along with the central theme of visiting a ‘true teacher.’ That this theme is repeated throughout the manuscript is likely not an error.

The repeated themes of visiting the teacher ‘Po Rasulak/Po Nabi,’ the magical birth of Po Ali’s sons, as well as the reconciliation between father and son may be seen as literary ‘hooks’ or themes that allow the copiest/author to return to a well-known passage while creating variations upon the theme. Hence there is a musical relationship that is formed with the manuscript – between the orality of the performance of the tradition of dalakal manuscripts and the efforts of a literary class to preserve Cham culture. Through more deeply exploring these ‘hooks’ the Awal origins of the manuscript become clear. For example: Po Ali’s sons derive their lineage in accordance with Cham, rather than Islamic or Vietnamese tradition. They become Vietnamese since their mother is Vietnamese. The term Mąkah is another example. Although Cham has relative phonemes for the pronunciation of Al’ Mec – the term Mąkah is used. Mąkah in Cham manuscripts has many meanings. Paul Mus thought that Makah was merely a symbolic location. However, the existing EFEO-KL interpretation is that Makah is a shorthand for the Cham ‘Veranda of Mecca’ – Kelantan, Malaysia.<sup>17</sup> Meanwhile, not all of the practices in the manuscript are understood to be adat awal or adat cam. The practice of offering wives to teachers, for example, is frequently seen as an Ahier practice – although neither the Ahier nor the Awal keep up this practice today. Additionally, the elements of anraong offerings, gahlau

– aloeswood or eaglewood incense – and the recitation of mantras for healing may all be seen as particularly Cham practices – shared by the Awal and the Ahier. The final narrative that one must consider for the analysis of this text is the accession of Po Lii Than to the title of Patao [A]nit Caleng Ka. Not surprisingly this title does not appear in the existing known historical record of Cham sovereigns and princes. This could be explained by the fact that these records generally only record the highest sovereigns, the Po. Meanwhile, the patao kingly tributaries to the Po are generally not recorded unless they become Po. This detail could be explained away through the ‘a-historical religious’ nature of the manuscript. However, historians should not too easily brush off the potential of religious manuscripts such as this, which can open up new historical understandings.

If the manuscript is viewed through a primarily religious oriented lens it is noteworthy that the figure of Po Ali does not appear to be elevated to the status of Po Nabi/Po Rasulak in this particular manuscript. Furthermore, he disappears entirely after Po Nabi/Po Rasulak does not require Patao Ni Caleng Ka to enter the ‘path of Islam.’ The manuscript emphasizes that the path of Islam could not be forced upon the half-Cham half-Vietnamese Patao Ni Caleng Ka – even though he received his title from Po Nabi/Po Rasulak. Nevertheless, the manuscript suggests that both the Cham and the Vietnamese eventually became ‘Bani’ or Awal.

The circumstance of the Awal community in Vietnam has increasingly fascinated scholars of Southeast Asia as examinations of manuscripts such as Dalakal Nao Magru have become more widely available. However, based on the analysis of this manuscript it is possible to suggest that one cannot simply approach the Awal through localized traditions of Islam, but rather through a combined lens of Austronesian Cham, Islamic, Arabic, Malay, Sanskrit and Hindu influenced culture. Given this syncretism, it is no surprise that few of these manuscripts have been translated and researched to date. Nevertheless, it is through the analysis of the manuscripts of the Awal community that historians of Southeast Asia and scholars of literature and religion are most able to gain new insight into the complexities of cultural interchange along the shores of the South China Sea.

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Islamic Religious Practices of Cham Bani. Southeast Asian Studies 1, 3 (2012):487-505.

## EndNotes

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<sup>2</sup> Sakaya. *Tiếp Cận Một Số Vấn Đề Văn Hóa Champa [Approaching Some Problems of Cham Culture]* (Hồ Chí Minh City, Việt Nam: Tri Thức Press, 2013)

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. See also: Yasuko Yoshimoto. "A Study of the Hồi Giáo Religion in Vietnam: With a Reference to Islamic Religious Practices of Cham Bani." *Southeast Asian Studies* 1, no. 3: 487-505 ; Rie Nakamura. *Cham of Vietnam: The Dynamics of Ethnicity*. (PhD Dissertation, University of Washington, 1999). ; Abdul Karim, Gerard Moussay, and Po Dharma. *Nai Mai Mang Makah: Tuan Puteri dari Kelantan : La Princesse qui venait du Kelantan*. (Kuala Lumpur: Kesenian Dan Pelancongan Malaysia- Ecole française d'Extrême Orient (EFEO), 2000) ; Karim, A., Moussay, G. and Po Dharma. 1998. *Akayet Dowo Mano: Hikayat Dowo Mano : Epopée Dowo Mano* (Kuala Lumpur: Kesenian Dan Pelancongan Malaysia- Ecole française d'Extrême Orient (EFEO), 1998) ; Karim, A., Moussay, G. and Po Dharma. *Akayet Inra Patra: Hikayat Inra Patra: Epopée Dowo Mano*. (Kuala Lumpur: Kesenian Dan Pelancongan Malaysia- Ecole française d'Extrême Orient (EFEO), 1997)

<sup>4</sup> see also: Zakaria Ali. 1991. "Notes on the Islamic Art of Champa." *Actes de la Conférence Internationale sur le Campa et le Monde Malais*. (ACHPI : Paris, France, 1991) : 123-135

<sup>5</sup> Georges Coedes. *The Indianized States of Southeast Asia* (translated from English to French by Susan Brown Cowing. (Honolulu, Hawai'i: University of Hawai'i Press, 1968) ; DGE Hall. *A History of Southeast Asia*. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1970) ; DGE Hall. *A History of Southeast Asia* (4<sup>th</sup>. Edition). (London: Macmillan Press, 1994)

<sup>6</sup> Sakaya. *Tiếp Cận*. See also: Anonymous. nd. *Da Lakal Po Romé Angan Ja Saot [The Dalikal of Po Rome When He Was Called Ja Saot]*. Manuscript from Dharbhan Po Dam's private collection. (Read: Fall, 2012) ; Anonymous. nd. *Dalikal Po Anit*. Manuscript from Dharbhan Po Dam's private collection. (Read: Fall, 2012) ; Anonymous. nd. *Dalalak Nao Magru*. Manuscript from Dharbhan Po Dam's private collection. (Read: Fall, 2012)

<sup>7</sup> Sakaya. *Tiếp Cận*. See also: Henri Chambert-Loir. "Notes sur les relations historiques et littéraires entre Campa et Monde Malais." *Actes du Séminaire du Campa* at the University of Copenhagen May 23, 1987. (Paris, France: Center for History of the Indochinese Peninsula, 1988): 95 – 106 ; Abdul Rahman Al-Ahmadi. "Le Campa dans le Littérature Malaise." *Actes du Séminaire du Campa* at the University of Copenhagen May 23, 1987. (Paris, France: Center for History of the Indochinese Peninsula, 1988): 107 - 121 ; Inrasara 2006. *Ariya Cam: Trường Ca Chăm [Ariya Cam: Cham Lyrical Poetry]*. (TP. Hồ Chí Minh, Việt Nam: Văn Nghệ [Arts Press], 2006). 50

<sup>8</sup> A similar adaptation also appeared in the Kingdom of Cambodia. According to a twentieth century legal study it was incorporated into Cambodian laws of the nineteenth century, although its origins and introduction into Cambodia were likely much earlier. See: Hoeffel, Ernest. (Docteur en Droit, Resident Superior of Indochina). *Du la Condition Juridique des Étrangers au Cambodge*. NOT DATED IN ARCHIVES: Actual Date: 1932. Imprimerie: Nguyen Van Cua, of Saigon. In National Archives of Cambodia Box 437. ID: 9.512. Old Code: P. 562. Formerly held in the Buddhist Institute of Cambodia. P 7

<sup>9</sup> Bồ Xuân Hồ. *CAM Microfilm 20*. (Phan Rang, Vietnam: Cham Cultural Center, 1974)

<sup>10</sup> Gerard Moussay. "Um Mrup dans la littérature cam" *Le Campa et Le Monde Malais [Campa and the Malay World]*. (Paris, France: Center for the History and Civilizations of the Indochinese Peninsula, 1991): 95-108. According to Moussay the 1978 publication was produced under the title "Hoàng Tu Um Rúp và Cô Gái Chàn Dê" in *Truyện Cổ Chăm*. (Hà Nội: Văn Hóa Dân Tộc, 1978): 197-259. Moussay (1991: 104-105) mentioned that he found the manuscript particularly in Bani Cham villages (villages of the Cham Awal). However, we have only found the manuscript in both Bani (Awal) and Balamon Cham (Ahier) villages. Good copies included the: *Akayet Um Mârup di Ong Bao Hung* [UNESCO-Cham: Palei Cuah Patih 4] and *Akayet Um Mârup di Ja Tu di Hamu Liman* [UNESCO-Cham: Palei Hamu Craok 6].

<sup>11</sup> Inrasara's version of this manuscript was 230 lines. His version was collected from Cù Huỳnh Phụng (1947) and Ông Than Tiong (1902) manuscripts from Palei Caklaing (Mỹ Nghiệp). Only Moussay's version was 248 lines (Inrasara, 1994: 139-150) V. Atahsev. Um Marup – A Folk Poem about the Beginning of Cham Islamization. *Manuscripts Orientalis* 11 (3 – September, 2005): 13-24

<sup>12</sup> Henri Chambert-Loir. 1988 “littéraires entre Campa et Monde Malais” 97-98; Atnahsev. 2005. Um Marup. 14  
The Cham text here reads: *bih sah alla illah* or *sah bih alla illa* as well as *sah sa’alla illa* – and Atnahsev (2005: 24) believes that this is the Cham pronunciation of the universal *shahada*. However, the Cham version makes no mention of Mohammed, nor the Shi’a extension: *wa ‘aliyyun waliyyu-llah*, elevating Ali to the position of “the friend of Allah.”

<sup>13</sup> See also: Ba Trung Phu. The Cham Bani of Vietnam. *The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences* 23:3 (2006) : 126-133 and Yasuko Yoshimoto. “A Study of the Hôi Giáo”

<sup>14</sup> We arrived at this analysis through the study of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century manuscripts: UNESCO-Cham Palei Cuah Patih 3: *Kitap di Ong Bao Hung*; UNESCO-Cham Palei Rem 1,2 and 3: *Kitap di Amu di Ong di Imam Du* (1), *Kitap di Palei Rem* (2) and *Kitap Ong Po Gru Nguyễn Lai di Palei Rem*.

<sup>15</sup> *Sang* is usually pronounced ‘thang’ with a hard ‘/th/’ in spoken Cham in Ninh Thuan and Binh Thuan provinces.

<sup>16</sup> With thanks to Nguyễn Quốc Vinh for this detail.

<sup>17</sup> Abdul Karim, Gerard Moussay, and Po Dharma. *Nai Mai Mang Makah: Tuan Puteri dari Kelantan : La Princesse qui venait du Kelantan*. (Kuala Lumpur: Kesenian Dan Pelancongan Malaysia- Ecole française d’Extrême Orient (EFEO), 2000)